

M-CUP

Community Organization and Revolution (1965)

By CAMILO TORRES

We are often told that in seeking political and structural change we must choose between two methods: totalitarianism and democracy. It seems to me that political sociology has clarified this issue somewhat and helped to distinguish the formal and the real natures of each of these forms of government. If we define government by the people as democracy, and government by a minority as dictatorship, we must, in order to classify regimes, consider real power as well as just formal power. There is a subtle distinction between the two. Formal power is that exercised by government officials, while real power is that exercised by pressure groups. I believe that pressure groups can be majority groups, and, in that case, can be democratic.

That is to say, the important thing isn't whether there are pressure groups, because there will always be pressure groups. Decisions are not produced by spontaneous generation. They are made by groups. But if these groups are minority groups, then naturally the decisions will favor the minority's interest. And if the group is the majority, the decisions will favor the interest of the majority. Formal democracy guarantees a structure which, in theory, can serve a real democracy. But when there are no majority pressure groups, real democracy disappears.

When majorities exercise real power, then democracy exists. In this context I believe that Community Organization must attack directly the problem of the structure of power. If we consider Community Action not as a government agency, but as a method for awakening the consciousness of majority groups, for organizing them to exercise pressure on decisions, we find it involves or-

ganizing the majority to have real power. Community Organization thus converts into a real democracy whatever formal system happens to exist - be it a monarchy, formal democracy, cooperativism, or whatever you want. If the majority is organized as a pressure group, decisions will be made which favor the majority, and that is democracy.

I believe in our political system, we can distinguish the government and the minority pressure groups that currently control Columbia, from the system of Community Action itself. It may be that the government's intention (in establishing a Community Action Program) was nothing more than to establish a palliative, calm the people a little, and give them a few token reforms. But the method of Community Action is to organize the people to seek goals which are not given to them by the traditional parties, but rather which are objectives of their own choosing. In seeking them, they are going to encounter frustration.

If these communities did not meet with frustration, we would not need any structural reform. If all of the communities of ordinary people could satisfy all of their needs, all of their aspirations, it would indicate that the existing structures were adapted to the majority. But if the structures are not adapted to the majority, and we organize the majority to seek satisfaction of its needs, they will naturally encounter frustrations. Thus the government's intention is one thing, and the method of Community Action is another thing.

I believe that if people are confronted with

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The Minneapolis Community Union Project (M-CUP) began as an organizing project on the Near Southside of Minneapolis in June of this year. This area, close to downtown, is an integrated neighborhood of American Indians, Negroes and whites. These are mostly old people and families with young children suffering from economic and other problems. The neighborhood problems are compounded by racial conflicts. However, the Indians and Negroes share the same relationship to the power structure of the city with poor whites in the area. The powerlessness and the problems of the poor neighborhood are not caused by a racist city government or racist institutions. They are caused by widespread indifference to the problems of this neighborhood and exploitation of the people that

live here. For this reason, M-CUP is tentatively committed to building an integrated organization and is also committed to the prior development of racial and cultural pride in neighborhood groups. The development of this organization, in the long run looking towards fundamental changes in this society, is slowly being brought about by successfully attacking every day problems such as bad landlords and a bad welfare system.

The project began in June with the construction of a playground on a vacant city lot. The project brought and constructed some equipment, and some donated equipment was received. A substantial amount of time was spent working on the playground in June and July. The lot was cleaned up and

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new left notes

an internal newspaper of
students for a democratic society

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national president's report

WHAT WILL THE PRESIDENT DO?

When I left Clear Lake I had the intention to do three things. In order: (1) Go East and put my life in order (say good-bye to my folks and my girl...), (2) Go to Chicago to become acquainted with the National Office staff, the procedure, and to gather together sufficient literature and films to begin (3) travelling to campuses (mostly to Chapters, but also campuses where none exist) and to projects. These things have all happened, but, strange to say, not quite in the orderly fashion I had laid out.

Before I got to Chicago I had visited four Chapters; begun arrangements for the distribution of the new Newark film; attended a meeting of the United States Youth Council as a representative of SDS; issued a press statement on SNCC (NLN); talked with REP staff in Ann Arbor enough to get an idea of what they are doing; and considered, and then turned down two television appearances. Hidden in that morass of activity are a number of conversations which have added to my understanding of what is going on, their content will come out in one way or another in these pages in the next few months.

I still plan to begin travelling after approx-

mately one week here in the NO. I expect that activity will be mixed, as have the last two weeks. The general thrust will be traveling and talking quietly. Since there is no predetermined task for the president, I want those who think that I have not defined it well, to present arguments. Mail will reach me through the NO.

Need I detail what I have and will talk about? I argue against the war, for self determination, for the political nation of black power, for student control of the university, for internal democracy in Chapters. I have been asking two questions with special frequency. 1) What is the process by which people become radical? I find that we have only the most rudimentary notions. Some must feel, judging by a consistent emphasis on mass demonstrations, that the participation in or the witnessing of opposition has a radicalizing effect - or at least the effect of liberating people from a blind adherence to old views. Others argue that a confrontation with authority (successful or not, showing that opposition to the system of one's life is at least possible) sows the seed for a radical

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Open Letter

To The National Secretary

I was pleased to see the resumption of the practice of weekly national secretary reports; some items it raised issues that I feel called upon to join.

Since no formal report on the convention (resolutions that passed and resolutions that failed) is included, the members must go on your generalizations about "consensus" to gather what happened way out in Iowa where the supreme decision-making body of their organization met with 7% of the members in attendance. In three respects you badly misrepresented the convention. These are in an alleged choice of organizing, to the exclusion of mobilizing, an alleged rejection of electoral politics, and a description of the organizing program supposedly adopted.

Behind it all is apparently a distinction between "the new radicalism" which you want us to be called, and "the new left" that TIME LIFE calls us. That's fine; a new left includes people from a broad range of society, it is potentially or actually a mass movement. SDS, or at least the people at national meetings, is a new radicalism of discontented middle-class students, whereas it ought to be a new left.

You say we rejected the tactic of mobilizing in favor of organizing; this causes me to wonder what you could possibly mean by organizing. Any experienced organizer will tell you that mobilizations are a part of any organizing drive; that a demonstration of strength has its part to play; that people are invigorated by a chance to march or rally; that without periodic mobilizations all you have is an endless, boring, meeting or a soul session. Fortunately the convention passed no such immature resolution. It is true that the convention and the N. C. provided no program of that kind, but that was as much because it wasn't given a chance to develop one.

Your comments on the "consensus" rejection of electoral politics SDS has learned that electoral politics is unlikely to be radical" once again is your interpretation. No such political resolution was passed. That analysis flies in the face of activity of Committees for Independent Political Action in New York and Chicago, of the Scheer campaign, of the electoral activity of the Newark project, etc. If you were saying that SDS has a critique

of single-issue peace candidates, then you shouldn't attribute that critique to the convention, which passed no political resolutions, but to the April N.C., which passed our most recent declaration on electoral activity (you might reprint it in NLN) which argued against single-issue middle class peace candidates precisely because of the possibility for multi-issue radical electoral politics. The panel on the Scheer campaign at the June N.C. confirmed that this had gone on out there; if SDS has spoken to reject electoral politics and exclude people who engage in it please summon up the evidence.

The problem here is an old one; I have always contended that the best check against national secretaries unilateral formulation of SDS policy is to let the people decide. Unfortunately the convention didn't. It didn't pass political resolutions. It spent most of the last few days in an interminable discussion of internal direction, the same discussion that goes on at every meeting, preventing us from formulating our political approach to the real world. The convention steering committee (composed of the same people who were elected at large N.C. members and national officers) consciously chose to embroil the convention in that "dialogue", with the result that the supreme policy-making body of SDS made no policy.

I have the awful feeling of facing a *fait accompli* and of having no recourse to the democratic processes of the organization; when I say let the people decide I mean give them a chance to formulate where they stand, let them pass resolutions, let them chart the course of the organization. The *fait accompli* is that no political direction has been set. This is evident in your reference to Carl Davidson's paper on student syndicalism as the guiding document of the new organizers program set up at the convention. I never voted for (or against) the convention. I never voted for (or against) that paper. I agree with a lot of it, but I refuse to be committed to "agitating" the adoption of counter-curriculum because students participated in shaping it rather than on its merits" which he proposes. I never had a chance to argue about that.

This is not the first time that a working paper has become policy in SDS. After the Port Huron Statement and America and the

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Letters To The Editor

Dear Friend:

I wish to express concern over the prejudice that is off lurking behind "Black Power" and to urge that less time and energy be spent by concerned people in trying to make "Black Power" respectable.

Regardless of the origin of it, hatred and violence are not fruitful paths to walk upon. I understand the Negro who is so busy mourning for his "own" that he cannot weep for Mickey Schwerner and Andy Goodman, but there is enough of goodness in me that I had rather walk with and sing the praises of those who deplore the deaths of ANY of their brethren, and by brethren, I mean fellow men.

Connected with hatred and violence is a narrow view of man, and of one's own destiny. This view permits the white man to react with irrationality toward Negroes because they are black, and that is enough. Our view should be that ANY reaction based on caste symbols which result in hatred or violence is bad, whether the reaction be labelled "Black Power", "Ku Klux Klan" or what have you.

The acceptance of our common brotherhood without reservation must precede real progress in any area - race, peace, politics - and precludes hatred and violence under whatever pretext. While I deplore SNCC and CORE's departure from the paths of righteousness, I had rather forget the differences, and resume the good fight. I fear, however, that brother Carmichael et al. may not wish to rub shoulders with tainted white anglo-Quaker liberal me any more. I couldn't care less, for he is my brother whether I am his or not.

Warmly,

James B. Osgood
Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Editor & The American Public.

If you voted for peace and have not yet seen the results, then vote with your dollar by not buying a car. Ours is an economically based society. To get peace, we must use economic means. Twenty companies exert decisive influence on the American economy, which is growing fat from government dollars (yours, the taxpayer's dollars) sunk into the bottomless well of warmaking. They are (listed in terms of total assets, according to 1964 statistics):

1. Standard Oil (N. J.)
2. General Motors
3. Ford Motor
4. U. S. Steel
5. Gulf Oil
6. Texaco
7. Sacony Mobil Oil
8. Standard Oil (Calif)
9. Standard Oil (Ind.)
10. E. I. DuPont
11. General Electric
12. Bethlehem Steel
13. International Buss. Machines
14. Shell Oil
15. Western Electric
16. Union Carbide
17. Phillips Petroleum
18. Getty Oil Companies
19. Westinghouse Electric
20. International Harvester

(from "Corporate Power and the Movement" by Mathew Hallinan, *Dimensions*, vol. 1, no. 1.)

These companies maintain highly professional lobbyists in Washington, and their voices are heard in the councils of government.

We of Citizens for a Democratic Society - a general membership organization dedicated to building a society in which war and human misery cannot exist - Have come up with one means of making the dove talk language the hawks can understand - dollar sign language. Only by making a dent in the money belt of the power structure will they admit the evidence of the world's testimony that the United States might be fighting an immoral, if not illegal war. Therefore, we propose a boycott against buying autos. We don't personally purchase napalm bombs, but we do buy Fords.

We ask you to pledge not to buy a car until our troops are withdrawn.

CITIZENS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
924 Howard Street
San Francisco Calif 94103

Friend,

It is my understanding that the New Left Notes is more an open forum than a rostrum for only certain members of S.D.S.

If this is true - I would like to know why neither my letter on Tom Kahn's problem of the New Left, nor my essay called "The White Panther Speaks", was printed even in part, and both pieces have been with you 5 or 6 weeks. (I tried to make them available before the convention.)

I am open as to reasons - but my first reaction is one of strong distrust, and I would like to know what in the hell is happening.

Lon Clay Hill
New Orleans, La.

(Ed. Note - I've been here for only about three weeks and I've neither seen nor can I find your letter or the article.

Strong Distrust?.....Shame on you!)

Dear SDS'ers,

I am 23, work as Peace Secretary for the AFSC here. I also write, and if you want to sample my views, see Sept. '66 issue of NEGRO DIGEST. I am interested in doing a long article on our generation, its views and beliefs, desires and hopes, fears and passions. So if you have any people who would like to help me out, could you let them know? I want statements on anything and everything. I have a deep seated feeling that there has not been any article to date that has tried to present our understandings in our terms, though we have had sympathetic coverage in many areas. And please don't get needlessly paranoid: if individuals like, they can be quoted anonymously.

Best wishes,
Joe Fasciari
St. Petersburg, Florida

Save Your Papers

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin is collecting papers and material about the movement and the New Left so that there will be a body of material available for research and study. So far, the Society has the CORE papers (including a lot of material from southern offices), the SDS papers, Carl and Anne Braden's papers, and a large assortment of material from organizers and community groups.

If you have material you no longer need (that means correspondence, diaries, field reports, notes on meetings, pamphlets and flyers, newsletters, financial reports, photographs, and newspaper clippings), and you'd

like to give it to the Wisconsin Historical Society, you can send it collected to the Wisconsin State Historical Society, 816 State Street, Madison Wisc. 53706, c/o Civil Rights Collection. If you're in the East, contact Mimi Feingold (who's the Society's east coast field worker), 327 Adams St. Apt. 9, Hoboken, N.J. 07030, phone: 201-653-8685, and she can pick up your contributions directly.

Eventually, when the material is sorted, the Historical Society will produce a catalogue of the collection so that people interested in studying the history of the New Left can know what's available.

S.D.S.

DEFENDS ITSELF

(Madison Wisc.)

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) Tuesday defended itself against those who call SDS "naive, idealistic young kids whose dreams have been shattered" and who "have no politics."

Instead, said Jim Russell, editor of the society's newsletter, the society believes in "participatory democracy" and what Staughton Lynd of Yale University has described as "existential humanism." SDS wants "people to be more decent to each other."

Chairman Hank Haslach and a series of speakers emphasized the desire of SDS to form counter institutions to attack "the institutional power of American society."

Russell said that SDS is organizing the poor of America and sponsoring programs on Viet Nam, disarmament, civil rights and poverty.

According to Russell, SDS intends to develop "multi-issue consciousness" and "political sophistication" in the student by sponsoring a diversity of programs. "All people are welcome to work in the organization who do not want to use it exploitatively" he said.

Haslach listed SDS programs under way this year and opened the floor for further ideas.

The primary program is the Radical Education Project (REP) he said. REP was started in New York to conduct "competent research in radicalism," educate "leftist" activists and purge them of their cliches, and form an ideology for SDS and the entire left wing.

SDS members decided to leaflet the December draft exams.

They also discussed formation of a bureau to advise those classified 1-A of alternate ways to serve the nation, and the formation of a "free university" in Madison similar to one already organized in New York.

Another suggested idea was to seek out "exploitative" landlords in Madison and "destroy" them with a rent strike.

SDS also intends to start a theater improvisation group and put a column in the campus paper once a week.

From the floor came suggestions to conduct a University Bookstore investigation and coordinate the workshops held by various campus groups.

Other members suggested studying the way automation could reverse rather than continue the depersonalization of society today, the need for SDS to work with the National Farmers Organization, and the possibilities of organizing high school students in Madison for democratic action.

SDS also plans to have Chancellor Robben Fleming answer a series of questions submitted to him publicly every Thursday. Fleming said during last spring's sit-in that he wished to talk with students.

SDS members said they hope that he will accept their proposal or provide them with a letter of refusal which they can publish in the campus paper.

Martin Tandler provided the meeting with a history of SDS, nationally and at Wisconsin. SDS was formed in 1962 as a small radical education group, he said.

The Wisconsin group started in 1963, was dormant in 1964, but last year sponsored speaker programs on politics, housing, civil rights, and the war in Viet Nam.

They also took part in a protest at the Badger Ordinance Works and the administration building sit-in. The programs of the past have largely failed, Tandler said, but added that "attitude is crucial" and SDS will continue to work for a democratic society.

National President's Report

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understanding of one's environment. I have felt, judging partly from my own experience, that simply living, whether by choice or circumstance, in an environment other than the accustomed one - as I found myself living in the Negro ward of an eastern shore Maryland poor city - gives one enough of a jolt to make one think, possibly for the first time, about the nature of the society around him.

One interesting and also unexplored part of this question centers on our relation to our parents. There are quite a number of people in the organization whose parents were associated with the Left in the 30's. How important an influence was that on us? In what ways did it happen? Let me suggest two: a) Summer camp. I have met a number of people who talk about the experience of camp as being their first introduction to politics. b) The McCarthyist lull. Suppose that the following scheme as some validity: the left wing movement of the thirties had two components: a) a political style and b) social values. During the fifties -- the period which we were growing up - the political life of the older generation has been smothered; only the social values could be passed on. Thus we came to possess a decent set of social values but could not inherit a political style which we have since come to question.

Certainly there is much lacking in this analysis - it is pertinent only to the degree that we are descendants of an older left. But to the extent that it is valid it raises a sobering spectre, and it will temper our expectations for rapid growth.

The relevance of the question how do people become radical is a straightforward one. Each time that we consider a political action or a direction for the movement, we must consider it in the light of how we think people come to hold radical views.

The second question which I have been asking frequently is what kind of opportunities are we creating for people once they

leave the academic world? We must avoid the possibility of becoming a student left, one from which people graduate back into mainstream occupations and mainstream political actions (if not mainstream political thoughts). We are beginning to create those alternatives: (1) community organizing; (2) schools, particularly private schools for young children, such as the school in Ann Arbor; (3) communities such as the one in Hoboken, where a number of people holding regular jobs (printer, newspaper reporter, caseworker) pool their resources. They continue to try to find new ways to reach people (NJ's first statewide peace demonstration, the MJ Correspondent, the festival. They find new ways to organize their work: the caseworker was all but fired, quit and continued organizing people on welfare; the printer is organizing a shop on a cooperative basis and plans to print mainly for the movement (4) campus organizing (no one has, as yet, taken on as a lifework, made it a viable vocation...) (5) I hope that other people will describe other possibilities in these pages and argue for them.... We must realize that we are growing up.

Gossip: It is reliably reported that our beloved LBJ is progressing handsomely in his paranoia. He is said to be no longer able to control his rage at the mild criticism he has suffered at the hands of the *New York Times*.... The peace corps is considering a radical departure: the reverse peace corps. The explanation: We give so much to the underdeveloped countries of the world that they begin to resent having to say thank you all the time. Therefore we should give them the opportunity to do something for us. We have problems in this country which they could send young representatives here to help us with. That way they would be not always be in the position of giving. This is passed along for the category: *New Definitions of Imperialism*.....?

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covered with sand fill. A tire swing, sandbox, swing set, jungle gym, tetherball and horse-shoes placed on it. Some staff people periodically worked with kids at fingerprinting and other activities, but as a method for approaching parents—an incidental goal in building the playground—it was unsuccessful. In terms of serving a genuine neighborhood need, however, the playground was a definite success. Every day almost 75 kids and sometimes more were around the playground.

The first week in August M-CUP opened a storefront office on Franklin Avenue, the main commercial street of the area, to be used as project headquarters and for meetings. The staff, after almost two months of very informal contact with people in the neighborhood, felt that the issues we could use as organizing tools were clear. We almost immediately began handling individual grievances in the areas of housing and welfare. In theory, an individual when persuaded to confront the systems that affect his life in a basic way can develop the commitment to fundamental social changes and begin to work for those changes. In practice, this is very difficult to accomplish. It means getting involved in all the day-to-day problems of neighborhood people in ways as various as taking people to court, getting them out of jail, helping them move, and putting up curtains as well as trying to get their landlord to fix their place up and the welfare department to give them what they deserve. The M-CUP office is beginning to be known as a place to bring problems, and neighborhood people do. In a typical day, M-CUP will be helping a couple of people who have welfare problems including late checks or not enough money or who are confused about food stamps, one or two families with bad landlords, a few people trying to get out of legal scrapes or into school or out of town, and, if it is near the end of the week or the month, a few people moving from one place to another in the neighborhood. We also deal frequently with lost pets, lost children, nosy social workers and visiting firemen—usually students or people just passing through town.

M-CUP is presently, then, a service organization, dealing in theory with the problems of tenants and welfare recipients, but actually acting as general grievance center and friend to many people in the neighborhood. This service approach will eventually be supported by block organizing to involve people that would otherwise not be contacted. Block organizing will begin as soon as there is staff available to handle both block organizing and grievance handling.

FALL PROJECTS

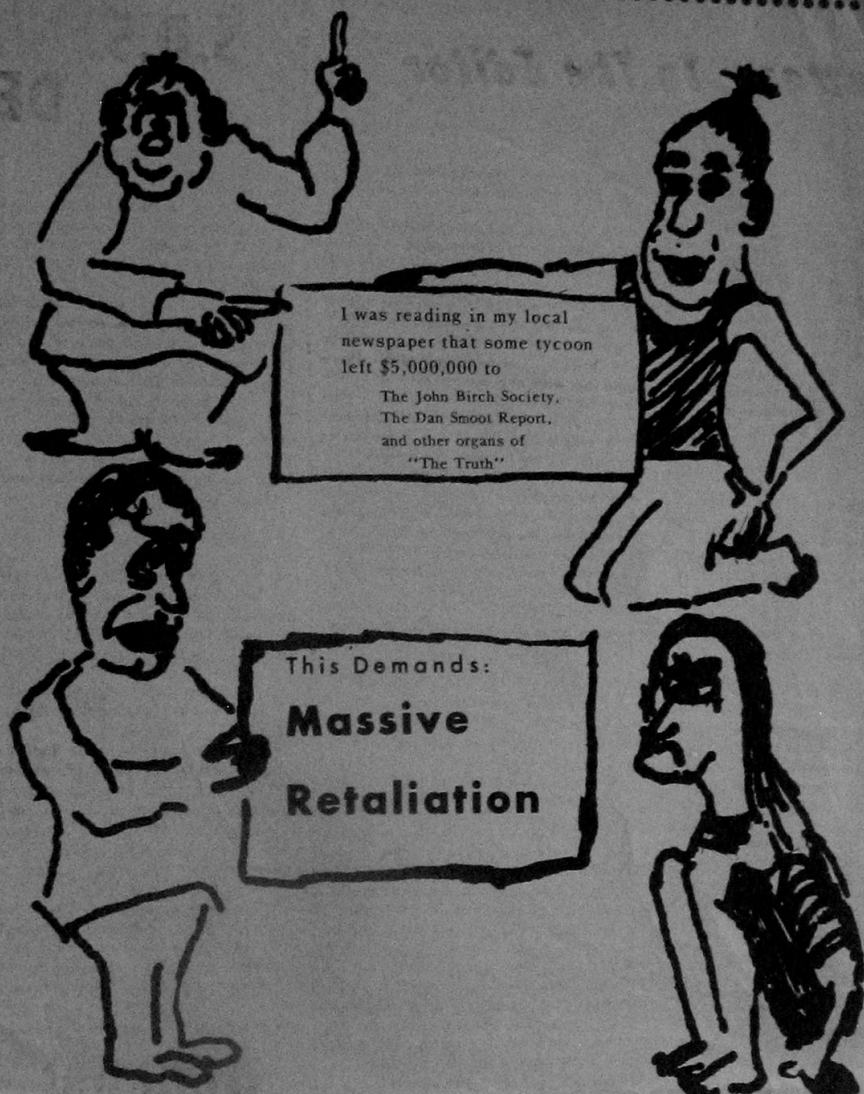
The organizing committee of M-CUP has recently made commitments to move into new areas this fall. A library will be established soon with donated books. A book drive will be conducted at the University of Minnesota this fall to start the library. To supplement donated books, the project needs some money to purchase books on Indian and Negro cultures and history. Funds to buy books on these subjects are needed soon especially since we are going to start a class in Negro history within a month.

M-CUP will also soon start printing a brief newsletter for neighborhood distribution. This newsletter will tell about the project and also print stories about neighborhood issues and activities. The cost of printing a bi-weekly newsletter is estimated to be \$25.00 per issue. This publication will give neighborhood people contact with the project and with the organizing activities of M-CUP, give them a voice to the neighborhood, and will supplement the issue leaflets which we distribute.

WELFARE

There are tangible beginnings for the development of a union of welfare recipients within M-CUP. The people working in this area are beginning to confront the city and county welfare departments with increasing success. Neighborhood people are becoming involved in helping other welfare recipients get through the tangle of indifference and inefficiency downtown and get what they deserve. This welfare union, in the long run, will be able to press for a more democratic and humane welfare system that doesn't rob people of their dignity. The activities of these people around welfare should also show them what can be done in other areas if people get organized and stand together. Welfare

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Courtesy J. J. Dulles

MDS or WHAT?

Edward John,
University of Pennsylvania SDS

The New Left today is a student left. It's a student organization. The student orientation of SDS is a natural outgrowth of the political conditions of our times; and it cannot be easily or arbitrarily changed.

But if the New Left remains an exclusively student left, it will die.

Students grow older; they graduate, get jobs, raise families. Many of them abandon radical politics as soon as they graduate—these are the Four Year Radicals. After their four years are up, they return to the sheepfold of comfortable liberalism. But what about those who are still radicals after their four years are over—Where can they go?

They can go to community organizing projects, they can work for the SDS National Office, they can hang around local SDS chapters pretending to be students. They try all these alternatives, or each in turn. But an ordinary person cannot spend very many years living on the subsistence wage of a radical organizer, or hanging around on the fringe of a student group—he grows older, further and further removed from the interests, needs, and social life of the young people.

As for the young people: They are in an organization with an ambitious goal—radical change of the society. But anyone with sense change of the society that society cannot be in his head knows that society cannot be changed by students alone. Gradually the realization dawns that an organization that cuts itself off from the adult world is not really serious about its goals. Radicalism turns into rhetoric. Discussion gets longer and longer, winds around in circles, and blows away in the wind.

In such an organization there is no reason to be anything other than a Four Year Radical! Such an organization may survive for years but its survival becomes more and more meaningless. And sooner or later

it dies.

That is what will happen to SDS if it does not develop an organizational alternative for its older adherents. It will die. All its achievements and promise will go down the drain.

The New Left must create an adult organization if the New Left is to survive. But this does not necessarily mean changing SDS into MDS. The MDS proposal apparently means turning SDS into a combined adult/student organization. But the practical difficulties of maintaining such a hybrid structure would be enormous. To think of only one problem: Suppose you have an election for national officers in which a 40-year-old veteran is running against a 20-year-old student. Do you vote for age and experience or for new blood? Conflicts of that sort can do serious damage to an organization.

And there is no need to create such problems. Adults and students quite properly

belong in separate organizations, working for the same ends in different fields.

The solution, I believe, is not to change the structure of SDS. Rather, it is to create a separate adult organization. The adult group should certainly be bound to SDS by fraternal ties, but it should be organizationally separate.

Furthermore—it is up to the college graduates, graduate students, and the other older adherents of SDS to form this adult group. It would be their group, so it has to be their responsibility.

Before making further concrete proposals, I would like to see more discussion of the problems involved. However, the following suggestion would help the discussion: Can the National Office provide statistics on the number of SDS members who are college seniors, college graduates, or graduate students? This would give a specific estimate of the number of people who could be involved in the formation of an adult organization.

NEW LEFT NOTES

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Radical Education Project: 510 East William, Ann Arbor, Mich.

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OCTOBER 1, 1966

M-CUP

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exhibiting, clearly, showing, results, will continue throughout this coming year.

HOUSING

In the area of housing, M-CUP has had some dramatic success, but the issue is still a good one. One place has been fixed up as a model of M-CUP pressure on the landlord and the Building Inspector's Department. In other cases recently, M-CUP has confronted large-scale slumlord real estate speculators and has not been as successful. As an organizing issue, however, tenants readily become involved in fighting against their landlord and against inefficient city agencies that could not offer the landlord. The lack of success in getting places fixed up sometimes makes tenants even more determined to get some changes made in the way their building and this neighborhood are run. One serious problem in attacking housing problems is the tangle of complex legal machinery. A volunteer law student will be recruited this fall to research the general area and help us develop a strategy for pressuring landlords and city agencies to get places fixed up. We are also looking for a volunteer lawyer who will work with tenants and M-CUP on specific housing problems and on general legal tangles about housing.

FINANCES

The financial situation is presently the most serious problem confronting M-CUP. It costs about \$200.00 a month of a minimum to keep the project going. This covers office rent and utilities, mimeo paper and office supplies, poster materials, printing and everything else. Since it takes up staff time that could be spent on other things, fund-raising usually is postponed as long as possible. At the moment, we are \$18.00 in debt, and the debt is increasing rapidly. For these reasons, we are now conducting a campaign asking people to pledge to contribute a specific amount of money every month. This is better for M-CUP than single donations and allows people to budget their contributions. We need about \$300 immediately to keep the project going and pay off our creditors and at least \$200 a month. Union Project needs the support of all concerned individuals now! Besides financial support, the project needs full-time staff to work on the project. Anyone interested should write M-CUP at the address below. Contributions sent to this address will also be most welcome!

Minneapolis Community Union Project
1119 E. Franklin
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404
338-8055

To Build Democracy...
LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE!

Name _____ Phone _____
Address _____
I pledge to contribute \$_____ monthly to M-CUP.
Enclosed is _____ as a donation.
I am interested in working for M-CUP.

Revolution (1965)

by Camilo Torres

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their real problems and organized to try to solve them themselves, within a system that does not permit their solution, then whatever the intention of the organizer may have been, the people, having achieved a consciousness of what they want, will become a majority pressure group. Sooner or later the majority pressure group will institute a true democracy. The means by which they will achieve this cannot easily be predicted, because there is an interplay of forces. The pressure of the majority will increase, but we don't know how the minority will react. If their reaction is totally opposed and the majority's pressure is strong, the revolution will be violent. But if the minority makes concessions, their reforms can put off the problem.

Five years ago, at a round table, Dr. Luis Emilio Valencia said that the necessary means for transforming society was a revolution, and I said that it was Communism. Organization. It seems to me now that we were speaking two different languages, but in the end we were in agreement. At the time, revolution was considered to be the solution. Magnificent! Many people were in agreement. But they were not able to say how to make the revolution.

A revolutionary political party may be the means. But how can such a party be formed in the social, cultural and economic milieu of Columbia, where the masses lack organization to a great extent because they are divided over sentimental and traditional causes, including the two political parties; where there is no leadership; where there is no consciousness of the economic objectives to be sought; where, until now dissatisfaction has existed toward this or that government, toward this or that person, but not toward the system; and where there is no class consciousness?

If these prerequisites for the formation of a political party do not exist, why not consider whether Community Organization can create dissatisfaction with the traditional parties; can foster conformity with this present system; can create in the majority a mentality which looks for rational objectives, and not only sentimental and traditional ones; and can achieve the formation of a revolutionary party. Organization is not a neutral political party, but it is the school for the formation of a majority political party.

* From S.E.D.C., Una política para el desarrollo (Bogotá: Ediciones Tercer Mundo, 1963), pp. 68-70, 74-75. Translated by Matthew Edel.



Open Letter

(continued from page 1)

New Era - democratically formulated documents - we had An Interclass Movement of the Poor (4-64), around which a slender SDS transformed itself into an organizing committee for the ghetto. But now SDS has 6000 members and a much larger following; this is a considerable movement that is potentially a large new generation of radicals. It deserves better. Maybe if conventions weren't held way off in Iowa more members would come and would make damn sure some policy got determined democratically.

The membership deserves a full report on this program of 'national campus organizers.' Who are they? What are they going to do? Will SDS have any program for members who can't 'liberate' themselves like itinerant merchants of the radical faith?

Do we have a program in electoral politics? Is it the program adopted by the April NC or the new one adopted by the national secretary?

Do we have an internal organization program? If so, how come it isn't mentioned in 12 pages of the New Left Notes (9-2-66) that will be read during orientation week? What are its priorities?

Do we have a program in electoral politics? Is it the program adopted by the national secretary?

Do we have a program for organizing among the poor? For organizing to end the war (is it the program passed at the January NC or the new one which says you can't have demonstrations?)? Do we have a labor program? If so, what is its position on working with AFL-CIO industrial unions and white-collar unions? When we refused to accept social-democratic or liberal-labor coalitionist images of our future (paragraph 3 of your report) what concretely did we substitute? Once upon a time I thought I knew the answer to that. Now I don't. (When exactly did we refuse those images, incidentally?)

I hope that a forthcoming issue of New Left Notes will summarize the program suggestions of the national office (we must fall back on their leadership in the absence of a direction formulated by the convention) in each of these areas.

Fraternally yours,
Paul Booth
Hyde Park SDS

MEMBERSHIP

REFERENDUM

During the National Council Meeting two resolutions were referred to a membership referendum. The two are:

Arthur Epstein submitted Kissinger's Amendment 2. This amendment had failed during the convention. Now it was voted on and passed and will go to a membership referendum. It reads as follows:

Amendment 2: Reworked Sentence one, Section 3, Article V to read: 'Chapters shall elect Convention delegates on the basis of one delegate for every five members, each delegate to have five votes on the Convention. However, in order to be seated as a delegate with five votes, written notice of the delegate's election must be received by the National Office prior to the Convention.'

Errol Silber's 'DRAFT RESOLUTIONS' - amended and referred to a membership referendum. It reads as follows:

... and urges young men to resist the draft.

ED. NOTE: See below for text.

SDS believes the war in Viet Nam is a clear and blatant example of the corrupt nature of the present American System.

This war is not a war for freedom, but a war against the right of men to choose their own form of government.

We must bring people to challenge this war and that system. This can best be done by showing how this war affects their lives. For students and young people generally the draft is a clear and very threatening effect of the war on their lives. SDS should organize around this concern of young people thru anti-war and anti-draft activity.

SDS opposes the draft itself, no matter what form it takes, because of its undemocratic and coercive nature. SDS opposes the conscription of all men for the war in Viet Nam and urges young men to resist the draft.

On campus, SDS will organize to end University cooperation with the war machine.

(1) Find at least one person to seek (and publish in New Left Notes) information on local draft programs; to gather relevant documents and travel.

The membership referendum ballot will be in the October 14 issue of N.L.N. We solicit arguments pro and con for the following issue.

COMMUNITY UNION JOIN

GIANT JOIN POSTERS

Contribution \$1.00

WEEKLY JOIN NEWSLETTER

Contribution \$10.00

JOIN COMMUNITY UNION

4333 N. SHERIDAN

Chicago, Illinois

DuBois Members Jailed

Last Wednesday we set up a W.C. & DuBois Club (D.B.C.) table in the activities fair at Indiana University. This was in defiance of an arbitrary ban on the D.B.C. by the Board of Trustees during the summer. This ban stemmed directly from right wing pressure throughout the state last Spring. The ban completely sidestepped normal university procedure, and walked all over our civil liberties. Setting up the table was one expression of these liberties.

For this, the Dean of Students publicly suspended one of us and ended the others' job with the university. He also threatened to arrest us for trespassing if we entered the student union again. The next day we stated publicly that we considered the issue clearly drawn, and were going to exercise

our right to enter the union (which right was clearly guaranteed us in the by-laws of the union and as citizens of the state).

Upon entering we were arrested, taken to jail and booked. We refused bond (\$500 each) and went on a hunger strike. Four days later, afraid the truth of our hunger strike would get out (it hadn't yet), the judge released us on our own recognizance (the judge was a member of the Board of Trustees).

At this time the ACLU is probably going to defend us. We urgently need funds. If you can help, even with encouragement, write:

Bruce Klein
423 N. College, Apt. #1
Bloomington, Ind.

Second-Class postage rates paid in Chicago, Illinois

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